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593 562 manages the house and the finances of the family, and at times she even keeps her husband. We have seen that the majority of the women of average class work and have their own incomes. [422] [428] They own their clothes, their jewellery, and the household utensils, as well as the pigs and chickens of the house. The man, of course, owns the house itself, the ricefields, the cattle, and his implements, and inheritance is invariably along the male line. The woman has absolute rights over her income and owns her share of the money earned by their combined efforts, although the husband is the administrator of this money. In general the [592] man is the acknowledged master of the household and represents the family before the law and before the gods, who are his own ancestors.

84! But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution (*sebel*) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese [954] believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

595 162 The Balinese are reputedly polygamous, but the great majority — about ninety-five per cent — have only one wife. It was generally believed that there are considerably more women than men in Bali, but the last census (1930) gives the figures as 561,874

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males as against 576,543 females, or 49.35 per cent men and 50.65 per cent women, a percentage of women that is even below normal. Men of the nobility often have two, three, four, and even more wives, and old records mention Radjas with as many as two hundred. This is a thing of the past, however, and there are few people today who can afford more than one wife. But the Balinese are naturally polygamous and it is common for men to have lovers and for women to take the extra-marital relations of their husbands as natural.

If a man brings home a second wife, the first is not expected to show jealousy, but unpleasant situations develop if the man takes a new wife without the knowledge of his first wife. Such was the case in our household and we often had to mediate between the two wives of our host in violent squabbles that exploded for the most trivial causes. I remain under the impression, however, that it was often wounded pride rather than sentimental jealousy that brought about the tense situations, and with other families of polygamous Balinese we knew this was so. The younger wife of a friend took care of the elder wife's child, and when they visited us together one would have taken them for sisters, such was the affection they showed for each other. Often another woman with whom to share the house means company and help to the first, and thus she is welcomed, especially if the new wife was chosen, as often happens, by the first wife.

Two wives in one home have separate houses to sleep in and often they do not even live together. Many Balinese live with the first wife in the ancestral home and keep their subsequent wives in other houses and even in different villages, visiting them once in a while and only bringing them together at festivals where they all must pray together. They agree that this is the most convenient arrangement, and our harassed host confided to me that in future lives he would be wiser and would marry only once.

The free and easy status of women of the average class is not enjoyed by women of the aristocracy; their husbands are absolute masters and they live restricted and secluded in the palace,

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562 the *puri*, usually going out only in groups to festivals. The first
564 wife of the same caste as the husband (*padmí*) enjoys a higher
[837] status than a second wife (*madewí*), even though she may be
[595] of high caste also. Then there are those with a considerably lower status, the wives of low caste (*penawing, slir*), who are regarded as legal concubines. The prince does not usually appear at his wedding ceremony with a bride of low caste, and she is ceremonially married to his kris or to a tree. The wives of a prince live together in the *puri* and each has her own *balé*, placed according to rank, where the prince visits them by turns. A low-caste wife of a nobleman receives the title of *djeró*, and there are special titles to establish the status of their children. The son of a nobleman and a woman of lower class is of the caste of the father unless there is a great difference between them.

684 A man is not morally bound to be faithful to his wife, but in-
562 fidelity on the part of the woman is a dreadful crime, punished legally in old times with the death of the guilty couple. I was
682 told of the case of a man of the aristocracy of Badung who found his wife in compromising circumstances with a man of his caste, a relative besides. Out of his mind with rage, he clubbed them to death, then sent for the *pungawa* to give himself up. Calmly he asked for the alarm-drum not to be sounded, as is done in cases of violence when a man temporarily loses his mind and runs amuck. His wish was granted and he was led to jail. When the trial came up, his crime was taken lightly by the noble judges and he was given a short jail sentence. It is possible that in "civilized" society he would have gone free.

586 Ordinarily in a case of adultery the husband simply "throws
[837] his wife away" (*makutang*). Divorce laws are simple and easy. A man may claim divorce if his wife is sterile, quarrelsome, or lazy, but a woman has also the right to divorce an impotent man, or one who has some occult illness, is cruel to her, or fails to support her, although many women support themselves and there is no standard established as to what is non-support. A woman who wants a divorce simply leaves her husband's home,

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called njamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelab or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

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the girl gives up her own family and her ancestor gods for those of her husband.

Soewakā was the son of a man whose elder brother had no male child, but a daughter. Soewakā married as a sentanā this daughter, Metoe, who was his paternal parallel first cousin. Her father was then to him father-in-law, uncle, and adopted father (fig. 1, III).[4] Soewakā lived in the house of his father-in-law and later inherited it. Soewakā had only one child by Metoe, a daughter. He then took a second wife, who was Méweh (eldest daughter of Bedil and paternal parallel cousin of Rendah), and had by her five children, two of whom have married back into the family which concerns us here (fig. 2, IV).

It is customary, and considered more suitable, for a man who takes a second wife to provide her with a house of her own, so that the two wives, at least during the early years, will not have to live in too close proximity.[5] Soewakā built for Méweh what is called a koeboe, an informal sort of house, set out in the ricefields, not within the circumscribed limits of the village. Here Méweh still lives, although her children are grown up and married. With her are her second son, Tèmplok, with his wife and two

[4] A Balinese states the custom for choosing a sentanā: "Take the family nearest on the male side, and if there is none [no son], only then can he be taken from the female side" (Ida Bagoes Hadipta, in an article on ancient adat in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 73).

[5] Household and dependents of Soewakā:

"Town house"
- Soewakā
- Metoe — his first wife
- Popol — youngest son of Soewakā by his second wife
- Te'er — wife of Popol
- child of Popol and Te'er
- Sampring — mother of Metoe

Koeboe No 1
- Méweh — second wife of Soewakā
- Tèmplok — son of Soewakā and Méweh
- Kébek — wife of Tèmplok
- 2 children of Tèmplok and Kébek
- Poepoel — son of Soewakā and Méweh

Koeboe No. 2
- Loe'ed — daughter of Soewakā by Metoe (first wife)
- Gemoeh — husband of Loe'ed
- 6 children of Gemoeh and Loe'ed.

The total is twenty people, eleven adults and nine children, living in the three houses, but receiving their share of the common rice supply, kept in the "town house." Soewakā, and all the young men of the three households, work the ricefields which he inherited from Metoe's father.

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595 591 592 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son, Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentană, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakă says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenă), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the dependence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakă as sentană, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

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591 608 582 Keroenă, the eldest son of Soewakă and Méweh, also became a sentană. He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 611 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

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It came about in this way: the Tjokordă, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordă to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentană, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Dariă, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and

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received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[6] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoe, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[6] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."

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Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.